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These catacomb-like galleries are as yet only partially excavated, and have so far yielded nothing beyond two ordinary republican vases, a few bronze bases, and part of a bronze helmet ribbed with iron. The explored galleries are some three meters in height and one in breadth, and the walls are smoothly polished. They converge at one point into a circular cavern from which a second circular pit leads to the surface just west of the wall which separates *atrium* and *tablinum*. Boni compares them with the *favissae* of the Capitol and with similar underground corridors found along the Latin coast near Nettuno. Their polished walls and complicated plan preclude the idea, he thinks, that they are early quarries, and he regards them as sacred granaries of the primitive state. It must be added, however, that other pits lead to other *favissae* at higher levels, notably under the various republican houses. Boni thinks in these cases of domestic larders. The whole matter is of course of vital interest and will attract wide and serious attention when the evidence is published in full.

Meanwhile, under the Commendatore's genial direction, the *Orti Farnesiani* have been set out with a magnificent display of classical flora which promises ere long to be in bloom. A glance at the plan accompanying Steinmann's article, alluded to above in note 2, shows among other species the *laurus nobilis*, *myrtus Romana*, *buxus sempervirens*, *hedera helix*, *cyllisus*, *laburnum*, *acanthus mollis*, *hyacinthus*, *narcissus*, *thymus*, *verbena*, and *arbutus*. Thus even the un-archaeological Roman *en promenade* must needs add his meed of thanks to the 'archeologo-giardiniere', whose gardens already furnish a pleasant contrast to the temporary roofings of canvas and tin which shelter the new diggings.

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REVIEWS

Dominance et résistance dans la phonétique latine.

Par C. Juret. Studien zur lateinischen Sprachwissenschaft I. Herausgegeben von M. Niedermann und J. Vendryes. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung (1913). Pp. xii + 263. 7 Marks.

This extensive monograph has as its aim the determination of the effect of the position within the syllable upon the development of the original sounds into classical Latin, and, in this connection, the bringing into order of the rules of development of the sounds. In other words, the author's problem is this, if we may take a single example as typical: does original *t* have the same development, when initial in the syllable, whether that syllable begins the word or begins in the middle of the word? Does it have the same development, at the end of the syllable, whether that syllable ends in the middle or at the end of the word?

A thoroughgoing examination of M. Juret's work would involve the recapitulation of an immense amount

of technical detail, and the reviewer feels obliged, so far as possible, to keep to the discussion of general principles—save for sample minutiae:

(1) M. Juret finds (19-95) that the consonants reduce themselves to the following rule: In like positions in the syllable, regardless of the position of the syllable in the word, a given original consonant develops in the same way—except that original aspirates develop into voiceless sounds initially in the word, and into voiced sounds at the beginning of non-initial syllables, with some differences when intervocalic. Some special groups, like medial *-ld-*, show special development.

Such a simplification of the rules is very gratifying; in the main, M. Juret does not run counter to accepted phonetic laws. We may agree with him (66-68) in rejecting the old formulae that initial *tw-* and *qw-* become *p-* and *v-* respectively; detailed refutation of these laws had been given shortly before by Persson, Beiträge zur Indogermanischen Wortforschung (Skrifter utgifna af K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, x, 1912), pp. 470-479 and 520-535. But we cannot follow him in rejecting (45-47) the formula that *dr* becomes *tr*, when we have such examples as *tetro-*, *uter uris*, *cirrus*; nor in rejecting the rule (71) that in intervocalic *-sw-* the *s* is lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, and, if *ūv* result, the *v* is lost and the vowel shortened; for his explanation of *pruina* fails of cogency when he assumes that it arises by dissimilative loss of the second *r* in **prurina*—it is normally the prior and not the posterior consonant which disappears in this way, and the verb *prurio* shows the combination remaining intact. In casting aside the formula (79-81) that original final *-t* becomes *-d* in Italic, M. Juret fails to heed properly the testimony of Oscan, where the Indo-European secondary ending for the third person singular active in verbs is regularly *-d*, while the primary *-ti* has been protected from the change by the vowel, which was later lost, and appears in Oscan as *-t*.

(2) Juret finds (96-104) a similar status of affairs in the vowels of medial and final syllables. However, one hesitates to follow him in considering the change of final *-et* to *-it* as merely analogical (97), though the *-e-* of *tutimet* must be reckoned with. In discussing (101) *laudāt* and *meritōd*, where the long vowel shortens before final *-t*, but remains long before *-d*, which is lost, he seems to raise difficulties which do not exist. His treatment of final *-ā -ō -ū* (103-104) is quite unsatisfactory, in view of the Oscan and the Umbrian forms of the neuter plural, *sequere* and *ipse*, and *cornū*.

(3) In medial syllables, M. Juret entirely rejects (116-132) syncope of a short vowel after a stop or *s*; his explanations of those words ordinarily supposed to have syncope in this position lead him, in his own words (131), to what "paraît une vraie débauche d' étymologie". In particular, others will be unable to accept his interpretation of some or all of the following words: *quindecim*, *hospes* (117); *sumo*, *mixtus*, *dexter* (118); *supra*, *extra*, *intra* (121); *cette* (131);

sumo, pono (151-152). His conclusions seem invalidated.

(4) M. Juret next (133-153) sets up the following rule: A short vowel is absorbed (= lost) only after a doubled sonant consonant (= *r l m n v*) or after a sonant consonant preceded by a long vowel. Again, we can hardly accept the limitations of his theory; *balneum* (135), *palma* (135), *indulgeo* (136) seem to resist his explanations.

(5) Relative to 'syncope and samprasāraṇa', M. Juret sets up (153-170) new rules which would require too much space for full citation; he entirely rejects current views. One typical instance may be cited: *quantillus* he derives from **quant(o)-lolo-s*, with 'suppression' of the first *o* for reasons of rhythm; vowel weakening produced **quantililus*, whence *quantillus* came by metathesis. Comment seems unnecessary.

(6) In the consideration (171-191) of the loss or retention of the short vowels of final syllables, however, he makes it worth considering whether the loss of *-i-* in the nominative singular of *i*-stems, as in *mors, mens*, may not be analogical merely to *lux, dens*, etc., with their dissyllabic genitives.

(7) Lastly (192-261), he disputes the development of *v* intervocalic, particularly against Solmsen, whose rules for the loss of the sound he attempts to controvert (193 ff., 251 f.). He develops these rules: In the group formed by vowel + *v* + short vowel + consonant of non-final syllable, *v* is lost and the short vowel is contracted with the preceding vowel, if the short vowel is followed by *n, t, s, r*, velar or palatal *l, y*. When other sounds follow the short vowel, the *v* remains and the short vowel is absorbed.

Similarly, he sets up the rules: In initial syllables, *ve* becomes *vo* (and *v* is lost if standing after a consonant) provided *n, r, t, s, h*, or palatal *g* begins the next syllable; *ov* in initial syllables becomes *av*, except before *i*; *ev* in initial syllables becomes *ov*, except before *i*.

But other explanations are readily discoverable to remove the difficulties which he finds under the accepted rules; and he is not always correct in his statement of facts: doublets are not all too infrequent in Latin (despite 113); *rio* is only typical of a whole class of words in Italian (cf. 245); the rate of speech, *Sprachtempo*, is a factor which must not be left out of consideration (cf. 112-113). Other problems are left unsolved: why do we have *clavaca*, as well as *clovaca* and *cluaca*? and did *novus novem* keep the original *e* until after **covos* had become *cavus*?

Misprints are regrettably frequent, two occurring even in the list of errata on page xi. Certain errors of fact occur. *Tibicen* (sic!) is given at 119, 10 as an instance of a word with medial, though *i* the *i*'s are both long. *Quattuor* does not come from **-twōr* (65, 12); cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, II, 2², 13. On 120, M. Juret says that anaptyxis occurs only

before velar *l*, and forgets the whole class of words with palatal *l*, of which *stabilis* from **stablīs* is an example. His analogical proportion on page 125 will not give *reperiō* as the fourth member. *Venēntificus*, cited on page 147, is not actually found. When on page 191 he denies an *i*-stem to *vigil*, because of *vigilare* instead of **vigiliare*, he forgets *piscis* and *piscari*. On page 33, he derives *farnus* from **farznos* < **farxnos*, which despite *fraxinus* cannot be correct, for *rksn* > *rsn* > *sn* > *n*, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel; cf. *mantēle* < **-terk-sli-*, from the root seen in *tergēre*, and *cēna* < **kertsna*: *farnus* must be from **fargnos* or **farginos*, or possibly from **fark-sinos*. On page 57, his explanation of *rēfert* cannot be maintained, since Persson, on pages 294-305, of the work referred to in the fourth paragraph of this paper shows that Walde's law of loss of the aspiration of an initial aspirated stop before a liquid when an aspirate ends the root or begins the next syllable is without foundation, and that the loss is due merely to the fact that a consonant immediately follows.

It is not surprising if so radical a revision of the phonetic laws of a language already so well studied as Latin should at this day fail to carry conviction. The main lines of development are too clear for anyone to hope to break new paths except in details. But, apart from the warning which M. Juret's book serves to give, we find in it many keen observations on individual words—some 200 of which are listed in an index because of original suggestions or special comments; on some of these he will doubtless win acceptance, though the student must constantly check up his views by reference to Walde's *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*: we may call attention especially to what M. Juret has to say on *cunctus, acerbus, saltus, sinister, iuxta, doctus, tostus, vir, pulmo, dulcis*.

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